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with Fantan the Interpreter in the presence of his sister and a female cousin, he expressed strong feelings about it and his face wore an unmistakable expression of disgust. His sister and cousin began to tease him, referring to his own birth. The discussion ended laughingly—as do many of the good-natured arguments on sex differences—with the comment by Fantan's sister, "Men are bad; women are good."

The midwife who assists at a birth is given a small gift, usually a moko, whose value may range from one to three rupiahs. The longer and more difficult the birth, the larger is the fee paid. Midwives who have had to manipulate the child by reaching into the mother's body expect larger fees.

There are few anecdotes of difficult births. One woman of about forty, well informed in such matters, could recall only four deaths in childbirth. This is certainly no measure of maternal mortality, but it does indicate both that childbearing is relatively easy and that the culture does not stress the importance and difficulty of the occurrence. No mother died in childbirth during the eighteen months that I was in the village. In the half-dozen births I witnessed, the mothers at no time showed signs of pain beyond acute discomfort. They groaned softly and perspired freely but seemed on the whole to give birth with little difficulty. In one case where the afterbirth was long in coming, the woman massaged her abdomen, scratched her loins, and combed the knots out of her hair—devices that were all believed to assist her in labor.

After giving birth the mother stays in the house from four to six days, which seems to be the time necessary for the end of the umbilical cord to dry up and drop off. Naturally, infected navels occur fairly often and are treated with poultices of mashed leaves. The dried end of the umbilical cord is saved in an areca basket. When the child is able to crawl, the cord is placed on a bundle of corn, which is presented to the maternal grandmother, or, if she is dead, to some equivalent kin. When the grandmother accepts the gift, the bit of cord is flicked off and ignored.

During the four to six days spent in the house, the mother rests and devotes herself exclusively to fondling and feeding the infant. At this time the child's warm water baths are begun. Depending on the solicitude of the mother, these warm baths are repeated at least every two or three days, until the child can walk. After that it is bathed in cold water.

The mother's material needs during the period of confinement are primarily the concern of her brother and secondarily the concern of

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IDEAS OF PROCREATION

842 The ideas of the physiology of procreation in Atimelang and their relationship to sexual morality deserve some detailed consideration. A child is thought to be formed from an accumulation of seminal and menstrual fluids in the mother—and menstrual fluid is considered the result of "things in a woman's breasts like eggs, which break and run down into her abdomen." For the first two months the child is believed
843 to remain in liquid form. It is during this period that the mother develops food preferences. In the third month pieces of flesh begin to solidify, and the mother feels dizzy and nauseated. In the fourth month the child's feet are formed, and a tiny placental cord appears.

At this time the fetus is said to resemble a banana blossom. This is also the period when the mother begins to feel movement. In the fifth month the fetus has solidified as far as its abdomen and begins to kick slowly and gently. In the sixth month the whole body is formed, but the ears, mouth, nose, and genitals are rudimentary. In the seventh month features begin to acquire flesh and prominence, and in the eighth month the child is complete and begins to jump about. In the ninth month even its nails are there, and "the child kicks until its mother is terribly sick. It kicks itself out of the mother's body; it tears its nest (placenta) and so has to come out." This is on the whole a remarkably accurate idea of fetal development.

842 Many different bits of behavior and attitudes dovetail with this idea
836 of procreation. One of these is that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. This in turn has its repercussion—in practice if not in theory—on sex morality. In theory, a young unmarried woman should be a virgin, although there is no idea of virginity tests at the time of marriage. However, should a husband shortly after marriage develop
753 feelings of nausea and a sense of discomfort just under the sternum, he will consult a seer. If the seer extracts a small piece of the fringe from a man's loincloth, this is considered a sign of the wife's premarital infidelity. The diagnosis of the difficulty is usually made by the patient. Nevertheless, the seer's role in fostering social conformity is not inconsiderable.

753 Incidentally, infidelity, as previously noted, may affect children and
684 the marriage partner in this fashion at any time during the earlier years of marital adjustment. It is a nice expression of the hostility and yet of the basic bond among members of the biologic family. Also, a difficult
845 first birth is considered a sign of premarital unchastity. In one such case the tumukun was threatened with death by the irate husbands of a pair

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of sisters with whom he was accused of improper relations at least five years before, and prior to the women's marriages. Nothing of the affair had been suspected until both women had difficulty in childbirth and their husbands beat confessions out of them.

Since a child scarcely ever results from occasional lapses from chastity, both men and women feel free in that respect as long as they are careful not to be caught. When I explained to Fantan the Interpreter that we had different ideas in our culture, his comment was, "Oh, that's too bad," which was a nice index of the amount of latitude the Atimelangers' ideas of conception give them in respect to their ideas of sex morality. The very obvious advantage of such ideas of conception makes Atimelangers, in discussing the subject, extremely unwilling to abandon them, even though they grant that sows will conceive after a single contact with a male. They are quick to add, however, that three or four days in the pen with a male produces a larger litter. It is a nice example of how reluctant people can be to abandon formulations justifying congenial behavior and consistent with elaborated attitudes.

It is interesting that, as in many other cultures, illegitimate children seldom, if ever, occur. In the Five Villages there was only one illegitimate child, the offspring of Matingma the Crazy Woman. Since Matingma's craziness was phrased mostly in terms of sex, her aberrant and almost unique status deserves mention here. Matingma was considered in her youth a perfectly normal person. She married a man in the Kalisu area with whom she did not get along, so she returned to live with her father. On her return several young men wished to buy her. Time after time a preliminary payment was made, but each time the man involved requested the return of her bride-price because she was having affairs with other men. Her father assumed a bland attitude toward these complaints, answering, "Your wife is still here. Go sleep with her if you wish. I won't be angry." After about four such episodes no further attempt to purchase her was made.

During the first few years after her return, and at a time when she was not in permanent residence with any one man, she bore a child. In view of the local theory of conception, she was undoubtedly considered to have been far more loose morally than she may actually have been. In the course of time she came to be known as the "crazy woman." Her illegitimate child and her profligacy were adduced as evidence. It will be recalled that the fact that she took her child to the fields with her and permitted it to sleep on the ground was another bit of evidence. At the time of this investigation Matingma was at least in her late thirties and had become a sort of village prostitute. "She steals